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The Content of the Poetry
of Sir Thomas Wyatt

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Board of University
Studies of the Johns Hopkins University
in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Charles A. Myers

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THE SOURCES OF WYATT'S TRANSLATIONS.

In the following table,

A.- Aldine Edition of Wyatt.

P.- Petrarch. (Unless otherwise designated, the references are to sonnets)

S.- Serafino de' Ciminelli.

N.- Nott's Edition of Wyatt. (The references are to the notes)

RF - Romanische Forschungen,
Vol. V.

- | | |
|--|--|
| A.1- "The long love"
(N.537) | - P.- "Amor che nel pensier" |
| A.2- "Yet was I never"
(N.537) | - P.- "Io non fu' d'amar" |
| A.3- "The lively sparks"
(N.538; RF 69) | Cf. first line of P.- "Vive faville". With ll.13-14, cf. P. -"Perseguendomi Amor", l.12. |
| A.4- "Such vain thought"
(N.538) | - P.- "Pien d'un vago" |
| A.4- "Unstable dream"
(N.538; RF 76-77) | Cf. Marcello Philoxeno: "Pareami in questa nocte" |
| A.6- "Caesar, when that"
(N.539) | - P.- "Cesare, poi che'l" |
| A.8- "Some fowls there be"
(N.539-40) | - P.- "Son animali al mondo" |

- A.8- "Because I still" - P.- "Perch' io t' abbia"
(N.540)
- A.9- "I find no peace" - P.- "Pace non trovo"
(N.540-41)
- A.10- "My galley charged" - P.- "Passa la nave mia"
(N.541)
- A.11- "Avising the bright
beams" (RF 67) - P.- "Mirando 'l Sol"
- A.13- "Ever my hap" - P.- "Mie venture al venir"
(N.542)
- A.13- "Love, Fortune, and" - P.- "Amor, Fortuna"
(N.542)
- A.14- "How oft have I" - P.- "Mille fiate, o dolce"
(N.542-3)
- A.15- "Like unto these" - P.- *Jacopo Sannazaro: "Arcadia",*
(Angl., XIII., 77-78) *[St. Gelais: "Voyant ces* *
Monts": "Simile a questi etc"
- A.15- "If amorous faith" - P.- "S'una fede amorosa"
(N.543)
- A.16- "My heart I gave" - S.- "Strambotto 248, "Il cor
(N. 543) ti diedi"; 249, "La donna
di natura"
- A.18- "The pillar perish'd - Cf. P.- "Rotta è l'alta"
is" (N. 544)
- A.19- "Whoso list to hunt" - P.- "Una candida cerva". With
(N.571; RF 66) line 8, cf. P. Sest.VIII.
in vita- "La ver l'aurora",
1. 37.
- A.20- "Divers doth use" - With 11, 13-14, cf. P.-
(N.572; RF 70) "Se'l dolce sguardo", 11.
12-14.
- A.22- "Behold, Love", - P.- Madrigal - "Or vedi, Amor"
(N.544-5; RF 67)

* cf. *Ricerche di Francesco Torraca, Rome, 1882, pp. 31-2. (See A)*

- A.24- "Go, burning sighs" - P.- "Ite, caldi sospiri"
(N.545)
- A.29- "My lute awake" Cf. Horace, Bk. I., Ode 25.
(N.545-6)
- A.33- "The restful place" - Cf. P.- "O cameretta, che già"
(N.546)
- A.34- "Resound my voice" Cf. (?) S. - Strambotto, "L'aer
(N.546-7) che sente"
- A.35- "Where shall I have" - With ll. 1-4, cf. Giusto
(N.547) de' Conti: La Bella Mano:
"Chi dara agli occhi"
- A.38- "In faith I wot" - Cf. Horace, Bk. III., Ode 29.
(N.547)
- A.40- "Pass forth" - With ll. 9-12, cf. Aeneid,
(N.548; RF 72) IV., 366. With stanza 3,
cf. P- "Aspro core e selvag-
gio", ll. 9-14.
- A.44- "For want of will" - With ll. 6-9, cf. S.-Stramb.
(N.548; RF 73) 302, l.5 ff.
- A.47- "Unwarily so was" - With ll. 5-6, cf. P.- Son.
(N.549-50) 2; and Son. 3, l. 10.
- A.48- "Perdie I said" - P.- Canz. 15, vita - "S'i 'l
(N.550) dissi mai"
- A.50- "When first mine eyes" Cf. Tibaldeo - "Deh, perchè non
(N.550) mi fur"
- A.55- "If thou wilt" - Boethius: "De Consolatione
(N.551) Philosophiae", Lib. III.,
Metra 5,6,3.
- A.58- "Heaven, and earth," - With l. 22, cf. P. -Sest.,
(N.574;RF 70 and 75) "L'aer gravato", l.37; and
Son., "Tempo era omai",
l. 5.

- A.62- "O goodly hand"
(N.575; RF. 67-68) Cf. P.- "O bella man", ll.1-8.
- A.67- "All heavy minds"
(N.576; RF 70) With ll. 33-34, 43-44, cf. P.- "Io son sì stanco," ll. 12-13.
- A.80- "To causè accord"
(N.577-8; RF 70-71) With stanza three, cf. P.- "Io mi rivolgo", ll. 9-11. With stanza five, cf. ibid., ll. 12-14.
- A.86- "Process of time"
(N.578; RF 73-74) With ll. 1-6, cf. S.- Son. 95, ll.7-8, ll.1-12.
- A.87- "Like as the swan"
(N.578-9; RF 74) With line one, cf. S.- Barzeleta II., last strophe.
- A.112- "Sometime I sigh"
(N.583; RF 71) With ll. 1-3, cf. P.- "In dubbio di mio", ll. 1-3.
- A.128- "Me list no more"
(N.584; RF 74-5) With stanza four, cf. S.- Stramb. 6, ll.5-6. With stanza six, cf. S.-Stramb. 8, ll. 7-8. With stanza seven, ll.1-2, cf. S.- Stramb. 11, ll. 5-6.
- A.137- "Tangled I was"
(N.585; RF 73) Cf. S.-Barzeleta 9: "Fui ser-rata nel dolore"
- A.144- "Will ye see"
(N.586; RF 68-9) With line one, cf. P.- "Chi vuol veder", l.1. With stanza two, cf. P.-Canz. 14, vita- "Qual più diver-sa", Str. 1, ll.1-4. With stanza three, cf. ibid., Str. 2, ll.1-4. With stanza four, cf. ibid., Str. 2, ll.5-10. With stanza five, cf. ibid., Str. 1, ll.5-8. With stanza six, cf. ibid., Str.1, ll.9-10, 13-14.

- A.149- "Mine old dear enemy" - P.- Canz. 7, morte - "quell'
(N.551-53) antiquo mio dolce"
- A.154- "So feeble is" - P.-Canz.3, vita - "Sì è debile"
(N.553)
- A.159- "When Dido feasted" - Aeneid, Bk. I., ll.740-746.
(N.554)
- A.165- "For shamefast harm" - Ausonius, Epigram XXII.
(N.544-5)
- A.166- "Vulcan begat me" - Latin epigram of Pandulph-
(N.555) us.
- A.166- "In doubtful breast" Cf. Josephus: "History of the
(N.555) Jewish War," Bk. VI., chap.8
- A.167- "Alas! Madam", - S.-"Incolpa, Donna."
(N.555)
- A.167- "The wand'ring gadling" With ll. 1-4, cf. Orl.Fur.,
(N.555; RF 77-8) C.1, St. 11; and Aeneid, II..
377 ff.
- A.168- "What needs these" - S.-Stramb.- "A che minacci"
(N.555-6)
- A.168- "The enemy of life" Cf. St. Gelais - "Près du
(N.556; Angl., XIII., sercueil d'une morte"
78)
- A.169- "From these high hills" Cf. Ariosto, Capitoli Amorosi,
(N.556; RF 77) V., l. 7 ff.
- A.171- "The furious gun" - S.-Stramb. 209 - "S'una bom-
(N.557) barda"
- A.172- "All in thy look" - S.-Stramb.78 - "Vivo sol di
(N.557; RF 72-3) mirarti."
- A.173- "Of Carthage he" Cf. P.-"Vinse Annibal", ll.
1-2.

- A.175- "He is not dead" (N.558) - S.-Stramb.42 - "S'io son caduto"
- A.175- "Venemous thorns" (N.558-9) - S.-Stramb.- "Ogni pungente"
- A.176- "Stand, whoso list" (N.559) - Seneca, "Thyestes, ll.391-403.
- A.186- "My mother's maids" (N.560-2) With ll.1-69, cf. Horace, Bk.II., Sat. VI., ll.79-117. With ll.70-80, cf. Horace, Bk. II., Ode 16. With l.97, cf. Persius, Sat. I., l.7. With ll.105-112, cf. Persius, Sat.III., ll.35-38.
- A.190- "Mine own John Poins" (N.562-4) - Alamanni, Sat. X.
- A.194- "A spending hand" (N.564-5) Cf. Horace, Bk. II., Sat. 5.
- A.203- "Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms" (N.566-71) - For the setting, cf. Theodore de Beza: "Juvenilia: "Introductio ad septem Psalmos, etc."

Preface.

The following study is the outgrowth of a paper presented before the English Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University in November, 1905. In its broad outlines, the present work is an endeavor to indicate the nature, and to trace the literary ancestry, of the content of Wyatt's poetry. The general ~~fact~~^{fact} of Wyatt's indebtedness to Petrarch ~~has already been~~^{had} pointed out by Putterham (l.c., pp. 74 and 76) and ^{in considerable} by Einstein (l.c., p. 327). But the relation of Petrarch to the troubadours has never been insisted upon in the consideration of Wyatt's imitations of the former, and hence the remarkable similarity between the Provençal poetry and that of the court of Henry VIII. has hitherto passed unnoticed. In order to make this similarity clear, the paper begins, after a discussion of the sources of the text, with a brief account of the poetry of Provence, and traces its influence through the various Italian schools to Petrarch. Next, in a consideration of the nature and method of Wyatt's translations and original pieces, the relation of his poems to the production of Petrarch and of the troubadours is ~~made plain~~^{made plain}. ~~The~~ two dissertations which deal specifically with the content of Wyatt's poetry - those of Simonds and of Wintermantel - are then reviewed. Next, it is ^{proposed} ~~to make out~~ the exact relations existing between Wyatt and Anne Boleyn, as far as that may

be done, and to show how these relations are represented in Wyatt's poetry. After an investigation of the thought and style of that part of Wyatt's work which seems to be original, the study will conclude with an estimate, based upon the preceding investigation, of Wyatt's ^{Merits} ~~worth~~ as a poet.

^{very recent}
Note - The announcement of a forthcoming work on "Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems," by Agnes K. Foxwell (London: University of London Press), to be published by subscription, renders it advisable to reserve, for a short time, certain portions of the material indicated above, with a view to a ^{consideration} ~~canvassing~~ of Miss Foxwell's results.

*The recent appearance of Lady's Book at
the moment when our book was going*

THE CONTENT OF THE POETRY OF SIR THOMAS WYATT.

I.

THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

Until the year 1816, almost the only works of Wyatt which had come before the general public were his paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms (1549), and the ninety-six poems from his pen published in Tottel's Miscellany (1557). ~~In 1816 was published~~ ^{by} Dr. George Fred. Nott's edition of ^{his} the works of Surrey and Wyatt, ~~and here~~ ⁱⁿ a large part of Wyatt's poetry appeared in print for the first time. In the preparation of his edition, which contains all the extant poems of Wyatt, Nott had access to three hitherto unknown manuscripts, two belonging to Dr. Harington of Bath, the third to the Duke of Devonshire.

The most important of these manuscripts, which Nott calls Harington No. 1, is now in the British Museum, where it is catalogued as Egerton MS. 2711. A copy made by Nott himself is catalogued in the Museum as Add. MS. 28636. The original manuscript, which contains many poems in Wyatt's own handwriting, is described by Nott on pages I.-V. of the preface to his edition. The second manuscript, formerly the property of the Duke of Devonshire, now catalogued as Add. MS. 17492 in the British Museum, is described by Nott

on pages VII.-X. of his preface. The third, which he calls Harington No. 2, is dismissed with a bare mention. The most important parts of these descriptions are reproduced by Fluegel, in *Anglia*, XVIII., pp. 264-268.

— ^{therefore,} There are ^{four} sources for the text of Wyatt's poems: the three manuscripts used by Nott, and Tottel's Miscellany. The question now arises, "In the case of poems which, in Tottel's Miscellany, have readings different from those of the manuscripts, which reading is to be regarded as authoritative?" Such variant readings are very numerous, and, as has been often pointed out, the majority of the changes as they appear in Tottel, seem to lie in the direction of a smoother versification. If these alterations were made by Wyatt, they must of course be accepted. If made by any one else, they have no authority. — The problem resolves itself into the question, "Is Wyatt himself the author of the changes ^{which appear} ~~which appear~~ in the Miscellany?"

Nott thought that the text as given in Tottel could not be considered "correct and genuine", for "in addition to the injury it has sustained from the carelessness of the copyist, it has suffered evidently from the mistaken zeal of the Editor, who in a large number of passages has introduced arbitrary corrections of his own, when he thought he

could either improve the versification of an unharmonious line, or elucidate the meaning of an obscure one." Hence Nott makes the Harington and Devonshire manuscripts the basis of his edition, using Tottel only where it contains poems which do not occur in the manuscripts. The editors of those editions which have appeared since Nott, have, however, adopted the readings of the Miscellany, wherever there was any variation.

Alscher (l.c., p.49) objects to Nott's statement that the differences which appear in the Miscellany are due to Tottel himself. "Can we imagine", he asks, "that Wyatt would let his poems circulate among his friends in such a crude form that, fifteen years after his death, an ordinary publisher would not print them without reworking and repolishing them? Would not the necessity for these changes appear to Wyatt as well as to an ordinary publisher?"

However, it is not certain that the editor of the Miscellany was an ordinary book-publisher. Arber (l.c., Introd., p. XV.) cites a number of facts in support of the idea that this editor was the poet Nicholas Grimald. With the probability that Grimald was the editor, Alscher's objection ~~is a mere speculation~~ ~~falls to the ground~~.

A few of the principal variations between the Miscellany and the Egerton MS. are cited below. The passages

have been selected from those poems which are known to be translations. In each case, the original is given first, the Egerton reading (E) second, and the Tottel reading (T) third. The first examples are from Wyatt's translation (Tottel, 69; Angl. XVIII., 467) of Petrarch's sonnet, "Mille fiate, O dolce." They are as follows:-

P, 1.2 - "Per aver co'begli occhi vostri pace,"
 E, 1.2 - "With those your Iyes for to get peace & truyse"
 T, 1.2 - "With my great pain to get some peace or truce,"

P, 1.3 - "V'aggio proferto il cor; m'a voi non piace."
 E, 1.3 - "Proffered you myn hert but you do not use"
 T, 1.3 - "Geven you my hart? But you do not use,"

P, 1.9 - "Or, s'io lo scaccio, ed e' non trova in voi."
 E, 1.9 - "Yf I then it chase nor it in you can fynde"
 T, 1.9 - "If you it chase, that it in you can finde,"

The translation of Petrarch's third canzone, "Sì è debile il filo", l. 15, shows the following difference in Tottel (p.73²) and in Egerton (Angl., XIX., 203):-

P, 1.15 - "Questa speranza mi sostenne un tempo."
 E, 1.13 - "This is the trust that yet hath my lyff sustaynid."
 T, 1.13 - "Thus in this trust as yet it hath my life sustained."

These examples are sufficient to illustrate the fact that in those cases in which the variations between Tottel and Egerton can be compared with an original, the Egerton reading stands closer to this original.

~~In the~~ second satire, lines 97-99, ~~appear~~ in Egerton (Angl., XVIII., 509), ~~as follows:-~~

"Nor I am not where Christe is geuen in pray
For mony poison and traizon at Rome
A commune practise used nyght and daie."

~~For these lines~~ the Miscellany (p.90), ~~has,~~

"Nor I am not, where truth is geuen in pray,
For money, poyson, and treason: of some
A common practise, used nyght and day."

In the third satire, lines 12-13 ~~are given~~ in Egerton (Angl., XIX., 181) ~~as follows:-~~

"So sackes of durt be filled up in the cloyster
That servis for lesse then do thes fatted swyne."

~~appear in~~ ~~here~~ the Miscellany (p.91) ~~has,~~

"So sackes of durt be filde. The neate courtier
So serves for lesse, then do these fatted swine."

The reason for changes such as these is obvious. The form in Egerton would be quite in keeping with the spirit of Wyatt's day, when the Catholics were in disfavor. In 1557, however, when the Miscellany was published, the Catholics again had the upper hand. Hence such passages are carefully altered in Tottel, so that there may be no reflection on the Church of Rome.

The first group of examples cited, shows that where variations appear between Tottel and Egerton in the case of translated poems, the Egerton reading stands closer to the original. This, in itself is an argument against regarding

Wyatt as the author of the changes. Moreover, the Egerton manuscript, as described by Nott, had evidently been carefully revised and corrected by Wyatt himself, and made ready for the printer. Since this manuscript contains both the Satires and the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms - which are among Wyatt's very last works - the form in which the poems appear in it, must be ^{their} ~~the~~ final form which they ~~assumed~~ ^{at} in Wyatt's ~~mind~~ ^{hand}. In the short time ~~which elapsed~~ ^{that} between the completion of this manuscript and the poet's death, no such radical changes in metrical theory and in thought as those indicated by the variations in Tottel, ^{but probably by another hand} could have taken place in Wyatt himself. The alterations ^{be credited to another mind and hand} must have been by another hand, than that of Wyatt.

However, it is by no means necessary to regard Tottel himself as the author of these changes. Since the Miscellany contains twenty-one poems of Wyatt which appear in none of the extant manuscripts, it is certain that there was at least one ^{his} other manuscript of Wyatt's poems, to which Tottel had access. It is likely that there were many more. During the fifteen years ~~which elapsed~~ between Wyatt's death and the publication of the Miscellany, many of the various changes which appear in Tottel may have occurred in the process of transcription.

One curious relation between the manuscripts and

~~Tottel's~~ Miscellany would seem to support this last view. On page sixty-five of the Devonshire MS., the sonnet, "Was never file yet half so well yfiled", appears exactly as it does in Egerton. On page sixty-two, however, the sonnet appears in the form in which it occurs in Tottel, all the variations between Tottel and Egerton being exactly reproduced. (Cf. Nott, 537, note to Sonnet III.)

The above facts may admit of several conclusions:- First, it is barely possible that we have here a revision by Wyatt of one of his own sonnets, along the same lines as those laid down by the changes ^{made} ~~which~~ appear in Tottel. This conclusion is rendered almost certainly inadmissible by the fact that all the other sonnets appear in Devonshire in exactly the same form as in Egerton. It is not likely that Wyatt would make such changes in but a single sonnet. Secondly, the second form of the sonnet may have been brought into the manuscript from the Miscellany. However, Nott's description of the manuscript places its date much earlier than that of the Miscellany; and hence this second view, too, is precluded. The third and most reasonable conclusion is that we have here an instance of changes in Wyatt's text corresponding to those in the Miscellany, but occurring before the publication of the latter volume, and hence ^{therefore} not the work of Tottel. This view supports the conclusion

In accordance with the
order of the
president, cited person
will appear in the
order of the President.

that the changes in the Miscellany are probably not the work of Tottel himself, but crept into the manuscripts during the process of transcription.

An examination of the contents of the sources of Wyatt's text, therefore, leads to two conclusions:-

1. Wyatt almost certainly had nothing to do with the changes which appear in the Miscellany.
2. It is not at all necessary to regard these changes as the work of Tottel himself.

The final rejection or confirmation of the first of these conclusions rests with a metrical study of the relations between the Miscellany and the MSS. Such an investigation, however, lies without the province of this paper.

II.

THE LOVE-POETRY OF PROVENCE AND OF ITALY.

A.

The Troubadour Love-lyrics.

The poetry of the troubadours marks the first appearance in literature, of a phase of life and manners which found its social and political expression in the institutions of chivalry. Toward the middle of the eleventh

century, a new spirit of refinement and elegance manifested itself among the nobility of Europe. The roughness and coarseness of former ages began to disappear, and an intellectual, an ideal, element was added to the conception of life. The knight was no longer merely a hard fighter. He must be courteous, considerate of his inferiors, a protector of the weak and the oppressed, a sturdy champion of the right. His deeds of valor and of courtesy would meet with a two-fold reward: honor and fame - the approval of the world at large - and love - the favor of his chosen lady. Such was the spirit of chivalry.

This new spirit of refinement and courtesy flourished especially in the South of France. The courts of Provence, of Aquitaine, of Toulouse, and of Auvergne, reflected the height of knightly courtesy and grace. Naturally enough, this new order soon sought a literary expression of its own. The poetry of the people, the work of the popular poets and travelling players, was felt to be inadequate. Its simplicity, directness, even crudity, of method and of thought, failed to satisfy this newly awakened intellectuality and idealism. There arose a new poetry, consciously artistic, reflecting the refinement and graces of courtly life - the poetry of the troubadours.

This new poetry was primarily of the court. Not on-

*I sh. take to our this
 + some, but more fully expressed.
 Definite, polished, etc. -
 he expressed*

ly did the new ideals of courtly life inspire the productions of the troubadour school, but from the ranks of the nobility itself came many of its leading poets. The greatest nobles tuned their lutes and composed poems in which they sang the praises of their ladies. The first troubadour of whom there is any record was Guillem IX., Count of Poitiers (1087-1127). Other noble poets were Ebles II., Viscount of Ventadorn; Jaufre Rudel, Prince of Blaya; Rambaut III., Count of Orange; Alfons II., King of Aragon; Robert, Dauphin of Auvergne; Richard, Count of Poitiers (afterward Richard I. of England) and others of less note. In addition to these, the troubadours were recruited from the ranks of the retainers and even of the humble serving-men of the courts. Though the greatest nobles strove for laurels in this new field, humble birth was no bar to success. Bernart de Ventadorn, one of the greatest members of the school, was the son of a man whose duty it was to gather wood for the ovens of the Viscount of Ventadorn. Mighty princes, ^{and} humble squires, rich nobles, poor serving-men, knights, barons, and ecclesiastics, all vied with each other in singing of love and of honor.

Besides the nobles mentioned above, Peire Vidal, Marcabran, Bertran de Born, Peire Rogier, Arnaut Daniel, and many others of humble birth won fame by their songs.

Women, too, were numbered among the troubadour poets; the most noteworthy, perhaps, being Eleanor of Poitiers, afterward wife of Henry II. of England.

A second fact with regard to this poetry as a whole, and one which is of the utmost importance in any consideration of its nature, is its close relation to music. The troubadour composed his poems, and then sang them to the accompaniment of his lute. They are real lyrics, intended to be sung. If he could not sing them himself, the poet employed a jongleur, or player, to perform that office. As has been said, this close connection between poetry and music is of the greatest importance in the consideration of the Provencal literature. It accounts for the close attention to form, the extraordinary variety of strophic combinations, and the melodious, musical quality of the verse.

The troubadour poet is concerned primarily with the form, with the mode of expression of his lyrics. The thought, fixed by rules and conventions, and practically restricted to a single theme, which could be treated only in its most essential and general characteristics, gave little play to genius. The skilful choice of words, the harmonious arrangement of rimes, the musical combination of lines and of strophes - these marked the true artist. The poet polished and repolished, wrote and re-wrote his lines,

until he attained absolute perfection. In the poetry are found such expressions as "using the file", "constructing" strophes, "building up", "forging", "working out", and "refining" poems. Expressions such as these, show that we have to do with a real art of poetry, carefully and conscientiously elaborated - "l'art de trobar" as the troubadours called it.

As time went on, this art began to degenerate into artificiality. All sorts of devices, more or less artificial, came into use. One of the most widespread of these was repetition, the repeated use of the same word or word-~~stem~~ within a single strophe, or throughout a whole poem. Another manifestation of the same principle is found in the repetition, in the first line of a strophe, of the exact words, or at least ^{of} the thought, of the ^{previous} ~~last~~ line of the preceding strophe. Most artificial of all was the intentional obscurity or ambiguity which certain writers practiced. This device, which resulted in the production of poems which were understood only with great difficulty, if they could be understood at all, was a favorite with Arnaut Daniel.

And this Provencal literature represented all phases of
 This Provencal literature represented all phases of life. It dealt with religious, political, moral, and social themes. It had its epics, its lyrics, and its dramas. *And the lyric was the most popular*
 The characteristic literary form, however, was the lyric.

Under this head are embraced three kinds of poems: (1) The love-lyric; (2) The sirventes; (3) The tenzone. The most prominent of ~~these~~, and the ~~one~~ through which the Provencal poetry exercised such a far-reaching influence upon other literatures, is the love-lyric. The sirventes is a political poem, in which the troubadour celebrated the battles and the achievements of some great lord. The tenzone is a poetical debate between two or more poets upon some question of ethics, of philosophy, or of love. In such a poem each poet writes a strophe in turn, the whole being concluded usually after eight or more strophes have been completed. The term tenzone also includes those poems in the form of dialogues between two lovers, between the lover and Love, the lover and his heart, etc.

But the favorite theme of the troubadour was love. In the poetry, as in society itself, the duties of the lover to his lady, of the lady to her lover, were seriously and thoughtfully discussed. The proper attitude of each under various imaginary combinations of circumstances was gravely debated. The poet became the lover. He wrote poems to his lady, - appeals for her favor, declarations of fidelity, descriptions of her charms. These, written in light and graceful measures, were sung to the accompaniment of the lover's lute. - hence the dominant and characteristic

Provençal

form in Provençal poetry is the courtly and polished love-lyric.

This love, ~~however~~, in its purest and noblest form, was lofty and spiritual, free from any physical element. The lover was content to worship humbly, to serve without hope of reward. For him his beloved was the source of all virtue; she alone inspired in him true nobility of soul. He looked for no real union with her. She might even be the wife of another. The absence of any hope of fruition made his love the more noble and real.

It is evident that love of this sort is likely, on the one hand, to degenerate into ~~mere~~ license; or, on the other, ^{to} to bring about an exaggerated form of thought and expression, which becomes more and more formal and conventional. Both these results appear in the Provençal literature. There are poems of coarse realism, in which the lover expresses himself as not content to serve unrewarded, or to be satisfied merely by a look or a smile. He craves other enjoyments, which he is not chary of describing. Such poems, however, must be regarded as exceptional, and opposed to the real troubadour spirit. The characteristic note of the poetry is that of pure, unselfish love.

The tendency to conventionality and artificiality, however, grows more and more evident. There arises in ef-

fect, a real art of love, and the love-affairs of the poets are conducted along ^{conventional} regular and accepted lines. Various typical situations arise in each affair, and these have their regular poetic forms of expression. Thus, a poem in which the troubadour takes leave of his lady is called "comjatz;" one in which he denies her accusations, "escondigz", etc.

The conventional form of such a love-affair is as follows:- The lover-poet chooses a lady to whom he addresses his poems. In some cases, of course, the choice must have involved real feeling on the part of the poet. In many others, however, questions of expediency play a large part. In such instances, the poet would naturally choose some lady in the family of his patron, who would substantially reward his efforts. His lady once chosen, the poet's course is regulated by strict rules and conventions, which, in some cases, must have had a basis in reality. Thus, in the case of a troubadour like Bernart de Ventadorn, who loved and praised the wife of his lord, Ebles, Viscount of Ventadorn, a real necessity for concealment would require that the lady's name be never mentioned in his poems. For the same reason, any but the most general description of her charms would be carefully avoided. These features, due in some cases to real necessity, become part of the regular

convention of ~~troubadour~~ poetry. Hence the troubadour re-
~~fers to his lady~~ ^{the lady is named in} under an assumed name, if ~~he names her at~~ ^{he names her at}
all, and ~~describes her~~ ^{describes her} only in the most general terms. The
whole attitude of the lover ~~becomes conventional~~ ^{is conventional}. His po-
ems express his undying love and fidelity; he will humbly
serve his lady for all time. She is cruel, content to see
him languish; but it is right that she should disdain him,
for he is unworthy of her love. His love for her alone en-
nobles him.

Each of the lyrics represents a single, typical sit-
uation; and the number of these situations is ~~very~~ limited.
The lover rejoices in the favor of his mistress; he com-
plains of her cruelty; he calls upon her to have pity on
his suffering; he laments the fact that their love must be
kept secret; he denies the accusations which evil tongues
have made against him; he anathematizes the spies who dog
his footsteps; he warns his lady to beware. Any one of
these lyrics, considered apart from the rest, may appear to
have a basis in fact (and such a basis some of them un-
doubtedly have). But when such lyrics are compared with
the whole body of Provençal poetry, and it is seen that the
same thought, expressed in almost the same way, occurs in
the works of poet after poet, it must be admitted that what
appears real and individual when considered alone, is in

the greater number of cases highly conventional and typical. The strict observance of such conventions as these, results in a poetry which is almost entirely lacking in individuality of thought and expression. Here and there a master asserts himself; but such instances are extremely rare. Almost the entire body of Provençal poetry might have been composed by one and the same poet. As a result, there is much confusion, the same poem being sometimes ascribed to two or more troubadours. This lack of individuality, this sameness in the development of thought and the use of figures, is one of the most striking characteristics of the productions of the troubadours.

Love is ^{often} personified ~~times without number~~, and this personified love is always the same, wounding the lover with bow or lance, forcing him to follow after his lady, deserting him when he most needs assistance.

The figures which the troubadour poets use in such profusion and with such frequent repetition, are derived from several sources. The classic poets of love, especially Ovid, have been drawn upon for similes and metaphors; but in all cases the troubadour seems to have assimilated, rather than imitated, the thought of the classic poet. A second fruitful source of comparisons and references ~~consists of~~ ^{were} the romances, the great epic cycles of the Middle

Ages. References to Roland and Oliver, Floris and Blancaflor, Alexander, Arthur, the magic draught of Tristan and Iseult, the lance of Peleus, etc., occur in ~~numberless~~ instances. ~~Another source which supplied material for numerous figures was the half-fabulous natural history of the time.~~ In these the allegorical tendency of the Middle Ages ~~has its chief representation.~~ The lover lives in his burning love, like the salamander in the flame, and is not consumed. Like the phoenix, the lover rises restored and refreshed from the flames. Languishing with love, he sings, as the swan sings, ~~just before~~ its death. He is attracted to his loved one as the moth is drawn toward the flame.

~~Time and time again such comparisons appear.~~

Such is the content of the troubadour love-lyrics.

Real feeling there is at times, but so bound by rules and conventions that it loses all individuality. The thought is subordinate to the expression, the ~~heart~~ ^{feeling} to the ~~brain~~ ^{expression}.

^g ~~This~~ ^{is the} poetry of ~~careful~~ ^{subtle} thinking, not of deep feeling; intellectual, not passionate.

The troubadour poetry, from its beginnings in the poems of Guillem of Poitiers, to the last productions of John d'Este, extends over a period of about two hundred years. The first fifty years of this period, from 1090 to 1140, are a time of preparation, of development, of steady

advance. From 1140 to 1250, the poetry is at its height, in the works of such poets as Bernart de Ventadorn, Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, and Guiraut de Borneil. About the year 1250, begins the rapid decadence; and by the close of the thirteenth century the troubadour lutes are silent in Provence.

The rapid decline and fall of this poetry is due to two causes. Embodying, as it did, the loftiest ideals of the chivalric spirit, it shared the vicissitudes of the institutions of chivalry, and died with the spirit ~~which~~ ^{that} gave it birth. Moreover, the Albigensian persecutions, spreading destruction and devastation through the land of the troubadours, drove them forth into other countries. Thus, even at the hour of its death in Provence, the troubadour spirit passed on into Italy, where its influence culminated in the love-lyrics of Petrarch and his followers.

Before tracing this influence through the ~~various~~ ^{several} Italian schools to Petrarch and the Petrarchists, a brief ~~summary~~ ^{summary} of the characteristics of Provencal literature ~~will be of service~~ ^{may be made}. ~~These characteristics are as follows:~~

1. The troubadour poetry is an art poetry, expressing conventional ideas, and aiming above all at ~~polish~~ ^{elegance} and ~~polish~~ of form.

2. It is a poetry of the court, not of the people; devel-

oped in a conscious effort to attain an art-form in keeping with the ideals of court-life in chivalric society. Many of its poets were of noble rank, many of humble station, but they were all "courtly makers".

3. The poetry is closely related to music. Its ^{productions} are real lyrics, which ^{were} ~~the troubadour sang~~ to the accompaniment of ^{his} lute.

4. General characteristics.

a. Uniformity, sameness, conventionality of thought and expression. The poetry is ~~a thing~~ ^{the} of intellect, rather than of ^{the emotions} sentiment. It comes from the head, not from the heart.

b. The lover is always patient and submissive; looks to no real union with his lady; seeks no greater reward than a kind word or a gracious glance.

c. The lady is a mere type. She is never named; ~~is~~ ^{is} always described in the most general terms, always having the same physical and moral qualities.

d. The frequent personification of love, conventional and colorless.

B.

THE TROUBADOURS IN ITALY.

I.

The Predecessors of Petrarch.

The influence of the troubadours manifested itself in Italy in two different schools of poetry - the so-called Northern School, and the Sicilian School, at the court of Frederick II. The North-Italian imitators, however, adopted not only the form and content, but also the language of the troubadours; and hence their work is rather a part of Provençal than of Italian literature. In southern Italy, on the other hand, at the court of Frederick II., the poets wrote in the vernacular, and their work belongs in reality to Italian literature.

These poets were court poets, and they naturally chose for their model the court lyrics of the troubadours. The content of Provençal poetry comes into the Italian without any change. The new language had no regenerating influence; it was merely another dress for the thoughts and ideas of the troubadours. The subject of troubadour poetry, - knightly love, - appears again in those forms which had already become typical. This love is humble, submissive reverence of the lady. It appears under the figures of feudalism, as a serving and obeying, as the relation of the

vassal to his master. The lady stands far above the lover, who bows before her, seeking mercy. He is unworthy to serve her, but his love redeems him. The lady is cruel, and lets him pine in vain. This is, of course, the conventional content of the Provençal lyric.

In Provence, however, it was at home; in ~~Provence~~ ~~this conception of love had developed~~; there it had sprung from circumstances which, though artificial, were ~~a part of~~ the life of the most refined and cultured society. But at the time ⁱⁿ that this poetry began to exert its influence in Sicily (^{at} ~~in~~ the beginning of the thirteenth century), it had already passed its prime, and was entering upon a period of rapid decadence. Moreover, in southern Italy the thoughts and ideas of chivalry were on foreign ground. Chivalry had never really taken root there. Glittering festivals and tournaments were held; the poets adopted the subjects and manners of the troubadours; but all this was merely an external imitation of foreign conditions. In the kingdom of Sicily there was a powerful, warlike, hereditary nobility; but it was held in check by Frederick, who aimed at stamping out feudalism. At his court the hereditary nobles gave way to jurists from the citizen class, such as Pier della Vigna and Taddeo di Sessa. The chivalric worship and reverence of woman was a mere fiction at a court where orient-

al customs still obtained, where the Emperor maintained a seraglio, and had his consorts guarded by eunuchs, while he languishingly celebrated their charms.

Hence this oldest Italian lyric poetry displays only the most insipid conventionality in content and in expression. The lady is always the same image of abstract perfection, without life or movement; her charms and virtues are depicted only in the most general terms. Love is an abstraction, a personification, with whom the poet speaks, to whom he complains.

Just as there was a common stock of material for love-lyrics, ^{so} there was a common stock of images and similes, which no longer serve their original purpose of making the subject clearer, but are a mere adventitious ornament of the strophes. The same troubadour figures, drawn, as has been said, from the classical traditions of the Middle Ages, from the romances of chivalry, and from the half-fabulous natural history of the period, appear again and again in the Italian poets.

Naturally, this poetry becomes more and more artificial in course of time, and its characteristic features are much exaggerated. Among the poets of the Tuscan school, which really forms a part of the Sicilian group of poets, the Provençal tenzone, the Italian contrasto, meets with

especial favor. Another characteristic of the Provençal poetry, ^{which} which was developed more fully in Tuscany than in Sicily, is the word-play, the repetition of words of similar sound, but of different meaning (bisticci); or the frequent repetition of the same word or word-stem, in a single strophe, or even in a whole poem.

The intentional obscurity and ambiguity, which has been mentioned as one of the characteristic features of troubadour poetry in its decadence, met with especial favor among the poets of the Tuscan school. The writing of poems ~~which~~ ^{for} which no one could understand became a mark of the real poet. Guittone d'Arezzo, Dino Compagni, Dante da Majano, composed verses in this style, and their productions, almost unintelligible at the time at which they were written, are wholly so today.

The Sicilian and Tuscan schools are succeeded by that of Bologna, in which Guido Guinicelli (? - 1276) is the leading figure. Guinicelli followed at first the Sicilian school, and most of his poems show no notable difference from those of the southern court-poets, - they have the same emptiness and monotony, the same figures and similes. In his later poems, however, the influence of his study of philosophy appears. His conception of love changes, the earthly affection is refined, brought into connection

with the most noble sentiments which the soul knows. It is a philosophical conception of love; and in the similes which serve to reveal and establish this conception, the old repertory disappears altogether. Thus, Guinicelli writes:-

"The sun shines upon filth during the entire day,
The filth remains filth, the sun loses no warmth.
A proud man says: I am noble by birth;
Him I compare to the filth; noble worth to the sun."

The contrast of figures ~~such as these~~ ^{such} to those of the troubadours and their imitators is obvious.

This later poetry is distinguished by a renewed strength and sincerity. Love and the lady remain abstractions, but they acquire a new significance. The lady is still the embodiment of all perfections, but she becomes at the same time a symbol, the incarnation of something higher. Love of her becomes love of virtue, of the highest good. The knightly love of Provence has become spiritual. The poetry acquires a symbolic, allegorical character. Its purpose becomes gradually the presentation of philosophic truth ~~surrounded by~~ ^{surrounded} a veil of imagery and symbolism.

Dante agreed exactly with his predecessors of the school of Guinicelli, in his mode of thought, in his conception of love, and in his whole poetical ~~arrangement~~ ^{method}. That distinguished him was his greater poetical talent. The

conventionalism of the school reappears in the "Vita Nuova". ~~We have again~~ Love, the ruler of the soul, the soul itself, as abstractions and personifications; and death and pain, too, are personifications. The spirits of love and of life, the thoughts, come, go, fly, speak, fight with one another. This is no longer love-poetry. It is a mystical, allegorical presentation of philosophic thought.

The fact of Dante's familiarity with-Provencal poetry is established by a passage in the "Divina Commedia" (Purg. XXVI., 115-148). Dante here introduces Arnaut Daniel, of whom he speaks in terms of high and discriminating praise, afterwards putting into the mouth of the troubadour a speech of eight lines in Provençal. This passage shows the high esteem in which the troubadours were held in Italy. The fact that Arnaut Daniel - perhaps the most artificial of the Provencal poets - is accorded especial honor by Dante, and later by Petrarch (cf. infra), indicates that it was the artistic, conventional, and artificial side of this poetry, that appealed especially to the Italian school.

2.

PETRARCH'S CANZONIERE.

In one of his letters to Boccaccio (Fam., XXI., 15), Petrarch declares that Dante, as well as every other writer in the vernacular, was entirely unknown to him. This statement has but one possible bearing on the subject of this paper. If Petrarch had not read any of the many love-poems in the Italian vernacular, then he was able to read Provençal poetry in the original, for the influence of the troubadours is manifest throughout his love-poetry. Moreover, in the "Trionfo d'Amore" (Cap. IV., 40-57), he mentions a number of the Provençal poets, and awards especial praise to Arnaut Daniel, whom he calls "gran maestro d'amor". The statement to Boccaccio has so often been called into question, that it can hardly serve as a basis for argument. But even if this be left out of account, the passage in the "Trionfo d'Amore" establishes a strong presumption that Petrarch was thoroughly familiar with Provençal poetry, and could read it in the original.

The troubadour influence on Petrarch appears in the "Canzoniere". This is a book consisting almost entirely of love-poems - sonnets, canzoni, sestine, ballads, madrigals, and trionfi - addressed to Laura. The book falls naturally into two divisions, - poems addressed to Laura during her

life-time, and those written after her death. It has been said that in the love-poetry of Dante and the other poets of the "Dolce Stil Nuovo", there is a symbolic, mystical, philosophical element, which is foreign to the troubadours. In the "Canzoniere", allegory and symbolism still appear, especially in the second part, but on the whole the love-poems are much more real and natural in tone than those of the "Vita Nuova". With one exception, all the qualities which have been mentioned as characteristic of Provençal poetry, appear in the "Canzoniere". The exception lies in the fact that Petrarch's poems are "art-lyrics", intended to be read or recited, rather than sung.

The citation of specific instances of the indebtedness of Petrarch to the poetry of Provence, will be deferred ~~until~~ the discussion of Wyatt's translations from the Italian, when the Provençal element in the poems which Wyatt translated, ^{by Wyatt} will be pointed out.

Petrarch's debt to the troubadours in the ^{more} general details of the "Canzoniere" is unquestioned. His love for Laura is very like the conventional love-affair which every troubadour ^{sang}. The poems in which it is expressed are not written in the heat of passion, in the exultation of hope, or in the agony of despair. In the expression of the most violent emotions, he is never carried away by his feel-

ings, he can still attend to the choice of words, and to the harmony of expression. As Gaspari has said, "Petrarch's love is real, but not deep". His love is a pretext for writing poetry, rather than an inspiration. It is fostered for poetical purposes. It is intellectual, not heartfelt.

The conventional setting and figures of the troubadour poetry could serve for the expression of real love. They are not essentially unreal. Their apparent lack of sincerity is due to the obvious exaggeration and artificiality of the figures, the uniformity of the sentiments expressed. A deep, real love would throw off all this weight of conventions, and strike out a new and individual mode of expression. A love, just as real, but not so deep, would take up the conventional figures and thoughts, and infuse a new life by its very sincerity. Yet its lack of depth would make its productions ever liable to lose the fire of life, and sink back into mere conventionalities.

A love of the latter sort was Petrarch's, often real and sincere in its expression of feeling, but even then infusing this sincerity into the old figures of the troubadours; ~~often~~ ^{often} lacking the stimulus of real or deep feeling, and ~~in such cases~~ ^{in such cases} having recourse to all the exaggeration, the allegory, the forced and violent antithesis, of the old School.

The Provençal poets had produced a poetry that was intellectual, as compared with what preceded it. In Petrarch, this intellectual element is greatly increased. As De Sanctis ^{expressed} puts it, "Petrarch often analyzes his sentiments, instead of reproducing them." Ingenious and subtle turns of thought, and carefully elaborated figures, mark his work. ^{He develops} In his poems, the old metaphors and similes ~~are~~ ~~developed~~ in a detailed way, which is strange to the practice of the Provençal school. The troubadour figures are usually short, simply expressed, and kept distinct from each other. Petrarch interweaves his figures, ^{clears} develops them in detail, and ~~this~~ gives them a new effectiveness.

That it was this intellectuality, this interlacing and detailed development of figures, which appealed to Petrarch's contemporaries and imitators, seems very clear. For example, the favorite sonnet of Petrarch, the one most frequently imitated by his followers, is the one beginning: "Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio". The characteristic quality of this sonnet lies in its detailed development of an old and conventional figure. Many a troubadour had compared the sighing lover to a storm-tossed bark; Petrarch elaborated the simile.

The characteristics of Petrarch's poetry, then, are a musical harmony of language and expression; a new air of

sincerity and reality in the love which he portrays; and an elaboration and interlacing of figures and of thoughts, which is largely, if not entirely, intellectual. The third characteristic is naturally very prominent, and is of all, no doubt, the most easily imitated. Hence the followers of Petrarch sing of love, be it real or factitious; and they adopt or imitate the figures, which must have appealed to them as especially ingenious, intellectual, and artistic.

In the "Canzoniere" of Petrarch, the influence of the troubadours reached its culmination. The Provencal poetry had already exerted a direct influence upon the literature of Spain and of France proper. Now, through the works of Petrarch and of the Italian Petrarchists, this troubadour spirit became identified with the Renaissance. Wherever the Renaissance exerted its influence, the "Canzoniere" became a literary model. But in passing into Petrarch, the Provencal spirit lost its identity. The thousand and one imitators of Petrarch, in France, in England, in Germany, and in Spain, gave no thought to the troubadours. They proclaimed themselves disciples of one great master, the Italian, Francesco Petrarca.

III.

WYATT'S POETICAL WORKS.

A.

The Italian Influence in England.

The literature of the Italian Renaissance first exerted its influence in England about one hundred and fifty years before Wyatt's time. It is in the works of Chaucer and his contemporaries and followers that this influence is first manifested, but in a way quite different from that in which it appears in Wyatt. It is the classic and the mediaeval elements in the works of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and their followers, which appeal especially to Chaucer, Occleve, Lydgate, and the rest. The fall of Thebes, the story of Troy, the misfortunes of illustrious men and women of former days - such are the themes in which Chaucer and his school delighted. The "Canzoniere", which, as has been said, may be regarded as the typical literary monument of the Renaissance, has left but a single trace of influence on these early poets. In Chaucer's "Troilus and Criseyde", Bk. I., ll. 400-420, he translates Petrarch's sonnet beginning, "S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' i' sento?", into three seven-line stanzas (~~Chaucerian Stanzas~~). Moreover, this single sonnet is by no means characteristic of the

style of the "Canzoniere". The ingenious figures, ~~developed and interwoven~~, which characterize the "Canzoniere", find no place in it. In all other cases in which Chaucer draws love-themes from the Italian, they are romantic and objective: the story of Troilus, of Palamon and Arcite, etc. The English court under Edward III. had not yet reached the point at which the ingenious, artistic, and subjective expression of the lover's feelings, becomes of more importance than the actions and the personality of the lover. The universal tendency to allegory did produce a kind of abstract love-poetry; but even this was still objective. There is nothing to correspond to the subjective art-lyrics of Petrarch.

The courtiers in Chaucer's time were still largely warriors and counsellors, without that personal interest in letters, that high cultivation of the intellectual and the graceful side of life, which already characterized the courtiers of Italy. The men who flocked about the warlike Edward were still warriors or scholars, never both. That regular and careful development of all the faculties which was the ideal of the Renaissance, had not yet found a place in England.

By Wyatt's time, however, conditions were ripe for the development of this Italian ideal on English soil. The

battle of Bosworth had ended, once for all, the strife between the warring factions of York and of Lancaster. The country entered upon a period of rest after its long wars. The king was all-powerful. The energies which previous monarchs had expended in foreign wars, or in endeavoring to maintain themselves upon the throne, were now turned to the arts of peace. The courtier was no longer merely a fighting-man; he had the leisure to develop other sides of his nature. The new ideal of the courtier is illustrated in Elyot's "Governour" and in Hoby's translation of Castiglione's "Cortegiano".

The perfect courtier, as depicted by Castiglione, was a man in whom all the various faculties of mind and of body were fully developed. Proficiency in the use of arms, and practice in the various games of strength and of skill, were essential. The courtier must dress well, be a graceful dancer, a good singer, and able to play on the lute or the viol. It was necessary that he be acquainted with the literatures of Greece and of Rome; a clear thinker, capable of giving good advice when it was needed; able to tell a good story; ever ready with a witty remark or an apt quotation. Moreover, he must be a true lover, versed in the art of love. This love, however, was not physical passion; it was the lofty Platonic sentiment which seeks a union of soul with

soul, ~~rather than of body with body~~. Pervading and embracing all these various details was the one supreme essential of the perfect courtier: the ability to do all these things artistically, without apparent effort, as if it were the most natural thing in the world for him to do them.

The English court had reached a turning-point in its development. At last the minds of men were aroused to a point at which the characteristic and essential ideas of the Italian Renaissance could take root and flourish. The courtier was no longer either a warrior or a poet, or a scholar; he was all of these, and much more. Chaucer was a courtier who received various sinecures that he might have the time to write poetry. Wyatt was a courtier whose official duties must have left him but little time to devote to literature. The one was a court poet, a great, original genius; the other, a poetical courtier, a brilliant and gifted man, whose literary productions represented but one phase of his manifold activity. At the court of Edward III, poetry was a thing apart. At the court of Henry VIII, the writing of graceful verses was one of the accomplishments of the perfect courtier.

In considering Petrarch's influence on Wyatt, it should be remembered that the former died in 1374, and that Wyatt's poetical activity did not begin until about one

hundred and fifty years later. During these years there had grown up, especially in Italy, a large and active school of Petrarchists, writers of love-poetry, who looked upon Petrarch as their master, and who, as has been said, imitated and exaggerated the artificial and conventional elements of the "Canzoniere".

Hence, when it is found that Wyatt imitates the artificialities and conceits of Petrarch, and translates those sonnets in which these elements abound, to the exclusion of ~~those which are simpler and~~, to the modern reader, more truly poetical, it is hardly fair to accuse him of a ~~personal predilection for~~ ~~natural~~ tendency toward the use of such artificialities, ~~or to say that he imitated and translated that which pleased him most.~~ The fact is that he imitated what the critics and poets of his day regarded as best and most characteristic in Petrarch. The attraction of these elements for Wyatt lay not necessarily in any inherent virtue of their own, but in the fact that they were reproduced and multiplied in the whole body of courtly and amatory poetry of the Italy of his day. ~~As a matter of fact,~~ Wyatt's best poems, even in the sonnet form, are largely free from these conceits, and have a ~~characteristic~~ note of their own, though retaining much of the old conventionality of thought.

One can hardly read any considerable amount of Wy-

Also incorporation in the
report - required here →

~~the fact that the~~
~~tone of these productions is very different~~ from that of
 Petrarch's poems. The humble, submissive, rather uncertain
 note of Petrarch reappears, but it is subordinate to a vig-
 orous, manly, and dignified air which must be regarded as
 characteristic of Wyatt. Petrarch shows, only once, a spir-
 it of independence, which sometimes appears even in the
 troubadours. In Petrarch and the troubadours, however,
 this is a very minor characteristic; in fact, it can hardly
 be called a characteristic at all. The later Petrarchists,
 on the other hand, developed it very thoroughly; and in Wy-
 att's poetry it may be said to ~~overshadow~~ all the other
 elements.

Moreover, Petrarch represents the humble, submissive
 lover, the worshipper and adorer of his lady, who is the
 image of all perfection. He reproaches her for her cruelty
 and disdain, it is true; but his reproaches are mild and
 sorrowful, rather than real and heartfelt. Whatever she
 chooses to do is right. Petrarch is steadfast and true,
 not in the hope of any reward, but because the real lover
 should be so.

Wyatt brings prominently forward several thoughts
 which never appear in Petrarch, though their terms may be
 said to lie in his poetry. Wyatt, in the first place, in-

troduces the idea of justice in love,- he is faithful, steadfast, and true; he has served long; hence he should have his reward. His lady has been cruel and unkind; her love for him has undergone a change; hence he is justified in leaving her. A second thought, prominent in Wyatt, but entirely foreign to Petrarch, is that of the deceit and craftiness of the lady. Even in reproaching her for cruelty and disdain, Wyatt is more vigorous and emphatic than Petrarch; but he goes much further - he speaks again and again of her deceit, craftiness, unfaithfulness, her changed love. This last note is much more realistic than any of those in Petrarch, but it is very common in the Petrarchists, from whom Wyatt may be supposed to have derived it.

The chief elements in Wyatt's poetry, then, different from those in Petrarch, are the independent spirit of the lover; his accusations of unfaithfulness and change on the part of the lady; his demand for justice in love.

In the following discussion ~~of~~ Wyatt's poems, ~~they~~ will be considered under four heads: - (1) The Love-poems; (2) The Satires; (3) Miscellaneous pieces; (4) The Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. The first head includes by far the greater number, for love is the theme in one hundred and sixty-nine of Wyatt's one hundred and ninety-six poems. Under the second head, there are but three

Note the depression
of the point.

poems; the third includes twenty-four pieces. Under each head, the translations will be considered first, such examples being cited as best illustrate Wyatt's method as a translator. After the translations, in each division, the original poems will be taken up.

1.

The Love-poems.

Since it is as the introducer of the sonnet-form into English literature that Wyatt is best known, the study of his poems ~~will be~~ begun with a discussion of those which appear in this form. Just thirty of Wyatt's poems are pure sonnets; another piece, usually grouped with the former, is in fact a double sonnet - a poem of two stanzas, each of which is in the sonnet form. Of the pure sonnets, just fifteen are translations from Petrarch; one is translated from Saint Gelais; one from Serafino; two contain thoughts borrowed from Petrarch; and one seems to be a free rendering of a strambotto of Marcello Philoxeno. The fact that only ten of Wyatt's sonnets are entirely free from dependence upon specific originals, indicates his limitations, both in the use of the form, and as a poet. On the other hand, the existence of two sonnets translated from original strambotti, and of the double sonnet mentioned above, shows a cer-

tain freedom and facility in the use of the form. Of the thirty poems, twenty-nine are love-sonnets, and one is a lament for the death of Cromwell. The latter will be considered under the third head.

The first of Wyatt's sonnets to be considered here is the one beginning, "The long love that in my thought I harbour" (T. 33 ; A.1). This is a translation of Petrarch's sonnet, "Amor, che nel pensier mio." Since this is one of the most frequently discussed of Wyatt's sonnets, I reproduce both the original and the translation in full.

~~Petrarch's sonnet runs:-~~

"Amor, che nel pensier mio vive e regna,
E'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,
Talor armato nella fronte vene,
Ivi si loca ed ivi pon sua insegna.
Quella ch'amare e sofferir ne' nsegna,
E vuol che'l gran desio, l'accesa spene,
Ragion, vergogna e reverenza affrene;
Di nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdegna.
Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core,
Lassando ogni sua impresa, e piange e trema;
Ivi s'asconde, e non appar più fore.
Che poss'io far, temendo il mio Signore,
Se non star seco infin all'ora estrema?
Che bel fin fa chi ben amando more."

~~Wyatt's translation is as follows:-~~

"The long love that in my thought I harbour,
And in my heart doth keep his residence,
Into my face presseth with bold pretence,
And there campeth displaying his banner.
She that me learns to love and to suffer,
And wills that my trust, and lust's negligence
Be reined by reason, shame, and reverence,
With his hardiness takes displeasure.

Wherewith love to the heart's forest he fleeth,
 Leaving his enterprise with pain and cry,
 And there him hideth, and not appeareth.
 What may I do, when my master feareth,
 But in the field with him to live and die?
 For good is the life, ending faithfully."

In this sonnet Petrarch adopts a figure from the usage of chivalry, of feudalism, and represents Love and the lover in the relation of master and vassal. The chivalric character of the figure is reminiscent of the troubadours, while the detailed development is in Petrarch's characteristic style. The lover has a part in the action, as is indicated by the use of "nostro" in the eighth line. He decides to remain faithful to Love, even after the latter has fled from the field. The last line may refer either to the vassal's relation to his master, or to the lover's relation to his lady,- the use of the participle "amando" brings the second possibility vividly before the reader. Hence this line serves as a point of departure for the general, abstract interpretation of the sonnet.

In Wyatt's translation, the personification of love is not indicated before the second line. The use of the adjective "long" in the first line, makes "love" abstract, and hence it cannot be a real personification in this line. The figure, therefore, really begins in the second line. Petrarch, by the use of "regna", brings out the feudal re-

lation at the very beginning, thus entering at once upon the development of the figure. Wyatt, by the use of the neutral "harbour", fails to do this. Lines two to thirteen, inclusive, are a very close translation. In the eighth line, however, Wyatt, by translating "nostro ardir" by "his hardiness", leaves the lover out of the action entirely, and he becomes merely a passive figure, much to the detriment of the artistic effect of the sonnet. Wyatt's fourteenth line would be an excellent general translation of the Italian. Just ^{at} in this place, however, it fails to indicate the relation between the lover and the lady, which the Italian plainly suggests. As a result, there is no specific point of departure for the general, abstract application of the sentiment expressed in the sonnet.

This sonnet has also been translated by Surrey (A. 12). Surrey's translation is much superior to Wyatt's. By the use of "reigneth" in the first line, he brings out the feudal character of the figure at once. By the use of "captive" (l.2) and "fought" (l.3), he makes the relation of Love and the lover not merely that of master and vassal, but also of victor and vanquished. This touch, introduced by Surrey, ~~and of which there is no suggestion in Petrarch,~~ is a decided artistic gain, and adds much to the effect of the sonnet. In the twelfth line, Surrey brings the lover

forward, and makes him suffer the effects of his master's actions. The fourteenth line gives only the general application of the thought in Petrarch's line.

Wyatt's second sonnet, "Yet was I never of your love aggrieved" (T.33 ; A.2), is translated from Petrarch's "Io non fu' d'amar voi lassato unquanco." The translation is rather free, so far as the exact reproduction of all the details of Petrarch's thought is concerned. The main thought, however, is reproduced almost exactly. In the first quatrain, Wyatt follows Petrarch closely, in the second he is very free.

Petrarch's second quatrain is as follows:-

5. "E voglio anzi un sepolcro bello e bianco,
6. Che' l vostro nome a mio danno si scriva
7. In alcun marmo, ove di spirto priva
8. Sia la mia carne, che puo star seco anco."

Wyatt's fifth line, "I will not yet in my grave be buried", was doubtless suggested by the second half of Petrarch's eighth line. "Nor on my tomb your name have fixed fast, As cruel cause", is a very meagre rendering of the first two and a half lines of Petrarch's quatrain. "That aid the spirit soon haste, From th'unhappy bones," represents the main words, rather than the thought, of "Ove di spirto priva Sia la mia carne." "By great sighs stirred," is an addition of Wyatt's. The translation of this quatrain

is characteristic of Wyatt's method. The thought of the Italian is faithfully reproduced, but there is no attempt to preserve the exact order in which the various details occur in the original. All the important words in the Italian are reproduced, sometimes in a slightly different connection. The thought in the second half of the eighth line is expressed in a somewhat different way.

The first five lines of the sestet are a close translation of Petrarch. The thought of the last line, however, does not appear in the Italian. Petrarch has "Di che Amor e me stesso assai ringrazio." He expresses merely the lover's joy at regaining his freedom. Wyatt reproaches the lady as being herself the cause of his changed attitude.

The note of independence and self-assertion in this sonnet, is very rare in Petrarch, who in all other cases is the patient and long-suffering lover of the conventional type. This independent tone appealed strongly to Wyatt, and is often represented in his poems. It is much more in keeping with his vigorous and energetic nature than the submissive and complaining note which characterizes the troubadours and Petrarch.

The thirteenth sonnet, "I find no peace" (T.39 , A.9) is a translation of Petrarch's "Pace non trovo". Wyatt represents faithfully the thought of the Italian, but is not

slavish, and handles details freely. The second half of the third line, "Yet can I not arise", is a very free rendering of the original, "E giaccio in terra". The thought is preserved, but the expression is varied. The fifth and sixth lines:-

"That locks nor loseth, holdeth me in prison,
And holds me not, yet can I scape no wise."

are an excellent rendering of the Italian:-

Tal m' ha in prigion che non m'apre ne serra,
Ne per suo mi riten ne scioglie il laccio."

The seventh line, "Nor lets me live, nor die, at my devise", translates ~~the following lines in Petrarch:-~~

"E non m'ancide Amor e non mi sferra,
Ne mi vuol vivo ne mi trae d' impaccio."

The thought of the eighth line, "And yet of death it giveth me occasion", does not occur in the Italian. Petrarch's last line, "In questo stato son, Donna, per voi", addresses the lady directly. Wyatt expresses the same thought in a general statement.

The figures in this sonnet, the strong antitheses ~~which~~ illustrate the conflicting passions of the lover, are common to the troubadours and to Petrarch. The multiplication and detail are rather characteristic of Petrarch. The figure of burning and freezing, which occurs in the second line, is an especial favorite with Wyatt.

In the fourteenth sonnet, "My galley charged" (T.39; A.10), Wyatt translates Petrarch's famous sonnet beginning, "Passa la nave mia." In the first two lines the translation is very close. Wyatt renders "Infra Scilla e Cariddi" in Petrarch's third line, by "'Tween rock and rock." The more specific and suggestive terms of the Italian are far superior to the English rendering. The Italian "Ed al governo Siede 'l signor, anzi 'l nemico mio", is freely but faithfully translated in the English "And eke my foe, alas, That is my lord, steereth with cruelty."

The fifth and sixth lines seem to have caused Wyatt some difficulty. The Italian runs as follows:-

"A ciascun remo un pensier pronto e rio,
Che la tempesta e'l fin par ch'abbia a scherno:"

In the Miscellany, this is translated,

"And every hour, a thought in readiness,
As though that death were light in such a case."

The first line is evidently an attempt to follow the Italian closely, ^{and} ~~hence~~ the appearance of the word "hour", which makes little sense as it stands, is surprising.

~~"Hour"~~ is evidently a misreading of the word "oar". ~~The fact that~~ the Egerton MS. has "owre" in this place, ~~would seem to support this view.~~ The second line is a free and rather incomplete translation of the Italian. Petrarch declares that the rowers feel a contempt for the storm and

for death. Wyatt expresses the thought that in such circumstances as those depicted in the sonnet, death itself loses its terror. The remaining lines of the Italian are very faithfully rendered.

This sonnet illustrates, as has been said, a prominent characteristic of the style of Petrarch and his followers, - the detailed and extended development of a single figure. The figure itself is common in the troubadour poetry.

In the nineteenth sonnet, "Love, Fortune, and my mind (T. 69; A. 13), is translated Petrarch's sonnet, "Amor, Fortuna, e la mia mente." The translation is not at all good. Wyatt's fourth line hardly makes sense, and bears no resemblance to the thought of the Italian, which reads as follows:-

(Io porto) "Invidia a quei che son su l'altra riva."

Petrarch represents the lover as envying the dead. In Wyatt's rendering, "I hate and envy them beyond all measure", the pronoun "them" must refer to the subjects of the sentence, and hence it is Love, Fortune, and his mind, which are the objects of his hate and envy.

The sixth to the ninth lines of the Italian are as follows:-

6. "onde la mente stolta

Discussion

7. S'adira e piagne: e così in pena molta

8. Sempre conven che combattendo viva.

9. Nè spero i dolci dì tornino indietro,"

Wyatt's rendering of this passage, reads,

5. "the foolish mind then

7. Burneth and plaineth, as one that very seldome

8. Liveth in rest. So still in displeasure

9. My pleasant days they fleet and pass,"

"As one that very seldome, Liveth in rest", refers to the mind, but is evidently an attempt to render Petrarch's eighth line, which refers to the lover. "So still in displeasure", which is combined with "My pleasant days" = "i dolci di", is doubtless a rendering of "E così in pena molta", which is used in a different connection in the Italian.

The contrast between the hard diamond and the brittle glass, ~~which appears~~ in Petrarch's twelfth line, is rendered somewhat differently in Wyatt. The latter seems to have in mind a comparison between two mirrors, and hence uses the words "steel" and "glass", to express the contrast.

[Wyatt's twenty-first sonnet, "Like unto these unmeasurable mountains" (T. 70 ; A. 15), is adapted from a sonnet by Melin de Saint Gelais. The French original is as follows:-

"Voyant ces monts de velle ainsi lointaine
 Je les compare a mon long desplaisir:
 Haut est leur chef, et haut est mon desir,
 Leur pied est ferme, et ma foy est certaine.
 D'eux maint ruisseau coule, et mainte fontaine,
 De mes deux yeux sortent pleurs a loisir.
 De forts soupirs ne me puis dessaisir,
 Et de grands vents leur cime est toute plaine,
 Mille troupeaux s'y promenant et paissent,
 Autant d'Amours se couvent et renaissent
 Dedans mon coeur, qui seul est leur pasture.
 Ils sont sans fruict, mon bien n'est qu'aparence,
 Et d'eux a moy n'a qu'une difference,
 Qu'en eux la neige, en moy la flamme dure."

Wyatt's use of the thoughts in this sonnet is best indicated by the following table, in which G. = Saint Gelais, W. = Wyatt, and the numbers refer to the various lines.

W. 1,2 = G. 1,2

W. 3 = G. 3

W. 4 = G. 5,6.

W. 5,6 = not in G.

W. 7,8 = G. 12

W. 9,10 = G. 7,8

W. 11 = G. 9,10,11

W. 12 = G. 4

W. 13,14 = not in G.

Wyatt's third line is a very close translation of the French, but in all other cases he reproduces rather the thought, than the exact words and turns of expression, of his original. Saint Gelais adds somewhat to the effect of

his sonnet by admitting a single point of difference between the lover and the mountains. In this case he employs the familiar antithesis of extreme heat and extreme cold. the lover is filled with flame, the mountains with snow. Wyatt omits this figure, and introduces another point of similarity: the mountain is filled with the voices of birds, the lover gives vent to endless plaints.]

The eighteenth sonnet, "Ever my hap is slack" (T.68; A.13), is a translation of Petrarch's "Mie venture al venir". In the greater part of the poem, Wyatt follows his original very closely; but in places he introduces variations. The third line, as it appears in the Miscellany - "With doubtful love, that but increaseth pain" - is a very free rendering of the Italian - "Onde 'l iassar e l'aspettar m'incresce." In this case, the Egerton reading (Angl., XVIII., 466) - "That leve it or wayt it coeth me like pain" - is again much closer to the original. It seems certain that the changed form which appears in Tottel, was made by some one who had not the original in mind. The use of the conjunction "for", in the fourth line of the Miscellany version, brings this line into relation with the third, thus producing a reading entirely different from that of the Italian, in which the fourth line is contrasted with the first. In this case too, the Egerton MS., - by the use of the conjunction "and", - produces a reading entirely in

keeping with the Italian original.

Wyatt's eighth line, "And where he rose the sun shall take his lodging", expresses the thought of Petrarch's seventh and eighth lines:-

"E corcherassi 'l Sol la oltre ond' esce
D'un medesimo fonte Eufrate e Tigre."

Though Wyatt does not reproduce the figure in the eighth line of the Italian, the names of the rivers, "Eufrate e Tigre", evidently suggested the expression of improbability ~~which appears~~ in his seventh line - "The Thames shall back return unto his fountain" - ^{and} which has no equivalent in Petrarch's list. The use of the name of the famous English river, is an interesting attempt at local color.

The tenth and eleventh lines of the Italian are as follows:-

"O Amor O Madonna altr' uso impari;
Che m'hanno congiurato a torto incontra."

The English gives ~~a most~~ excellent translation:-

"Or that Love, or my Lady, right-wisely,
Leave to conspire against me wrongfully."

The last line of the Italian is not translated, ~~by Wyatt,~~
^{the poet} ~~and~~ substitutes a thought of his own. Taken all in all, this sonnet is an excellent illustration of that combination of freedom and accuracy which characterizes Wyatt's translations.

In the fourth sonnet, "The lively sparks" (T. 34;

A.3), Wyatt translates, almost literally, the first line of one of Petrarch's sonnets, but develops the rest of the poem in an entirely different way. The first two lines of the Italian are as follows:-

"Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi
Ver mi si dolcemente folgorando,"

"Folgorando", in Petrarch's second line, means 'to flash'. 'to lighten'; and this word must have given Wyatt the suggestion for his development of the whole thought in his sonnet, in which the comparison of the glance of his lady's eyes to the lightning, is carried out in detail. Petrarch carries the figure no further than the word "folgorando". Wyatt, evidently attracted by the suggestion in this word, neglects the rest of the poem, and develops the first thought at length, in a way ~~which~~ ^{that} is characteristic of Petrarch in other sonnets. The wonderful effects of a glance from the lady's eyes, is a common motive in the troubadours, and appears frequently in the poems of Petrarch.

In the eleventh sonnet, ~~Some fowls there be~~ (T.38; A.8), Wyatt translates Petrarch's ~~Son animali al mondo~~. The thought of the Italian is ~~exactly and faithfully reproduced~~, though the translation is by no means slavish. The poem is cited here to illustrate the transmission through Petrarch to Wyatt, of a common troubadour figure, - the conception of love as a fire, which attracts and consumes the

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lover. Petrarch develops this figure with his characteristic detail, and brings out several new phases; as when the thought of the animals which are consumed in the fire, suggests other creatures which are not dazzled by the strongest light (ll. 1,2), and still others which always seek refuge in darkness (ll. 3,4).

The first three lines of the second sonnet (T.34 ;

A. 2) ~~are as follows:-~~

"Was never file yet half so well yfiled,
To file a file for any smith's intent,
As I was made a filing instrument,"

~~These lines~~ illustrate Wyatt's use of the familiar device of repetition, which has been noted as frequently appearing in the troubadours, and less frequently in Petrarch. The device is a favorite one with Wyatt. He is especially fond of playing upon the word "hap", as in the refrain of "In faith I wot not" (T. 44 ; A. 38); ~~which runs:-~~

"Spite of thy hap, hap hath well napt."

Plays on this word occur also in A.54, ll.11,14; A. 73 ,ll. 1,5; etc. Other excellent examples of repetition are found in A. 111, stanza 5; and in A. 327, in the first few lines of the paraphrase of Psalm CXXX.

"My love to scorn" (T. 55 ; A.11) , an original sonnet, voices the demand for justice in love, which has been mentioned as characteristic of Wyatt. It is a serious, digni-

fied, and lofty poem, in Wyatt's best style, entirely free from conceits and ~~far-fetched~~ artificialities.

"Divers doth use" (A. 20), is an example of Wyatt's accusations of change on the part of his lady,- a thought which appears rarely in Petrarch, but often in his followers and imitators.

"Farewell, Love," (T. 70 ; A. 18), and "Ye that in love" (T. 36; A. 5), together with "My love to scorn", mentioned above, are Wyatt's best productions in the sonnet form. These poems are simple and direct in style, free from conceits and artificialities, and have a serious and dignified tone, ~~which must be regarded as characteristic of Wyatt.~~

The first of the rondeaux, "Behold, Love," (T. 53; A. 22), is a translation of Petrarch's madrigal, "Or vedi, Amor". As is often the case in Wyatt, the Italian is handled rather freely, though the main thought is faithfully reproduced.

The first and second lines in Wyatt are a free but faithful rendering of the corresponding section in Petrarch. In the Italian the lady is most prominent; in the English, Love and the lover. The third line, and the first half of the fourth line, of the English, are not represented in the Italian. Wyatt introduces a thought which he is very fond of expressing, but which is never found in Petrarch,- that

of faithlessness and untruth on the part of the lady, who is here represented as breaking her solemn oath.

The second part of the fourth, and the fifth line in Wyatt, are represented in Petrarch, but the thought is different ~~in the English and in the Italian~~. In Wyatt, the lady is represented as resting secure, and not fearing Love, in spite of the fact that she has broken faith and deserves punishment. There is no such motive in Petrarch. The first part of Wyatt's fifth line reproduces the situation of the second part of the fourth, and the fifth line in Petrarch; the second part repeats the thought of the first part of Petrarch's second line. The contrast in the fourth and fifth lines of Petrarch, lies merely in the general situation; in Wyatt, it appears in the adjectives, "weaponed" and "unarmed". Petrarch's sixth line is somewhat expanded in Wyatt's seventh and eighth lines.

"To thee disdainful, all her life she leadeth;
To me spiteful, without just cause or measure:"

The latter again brings forward the idea of injustice on the part of the lady, which Wyatt is so fond of expressing. "Spiteful", in Wyatt's seventh line, is a translation suggested by the spelling, rather than the meaning, of the Italian "spietata".

Wyatt's last lines represent the main thought of the

Italian, with some change and expansion of details. In Petrarch, "pity" is connected with the bow; in Wyatt's tenth line, with Love himself. The eleventh line of the English has no equivalent in the Italian. Wyatt's twelfth and thirteenth lines are an expansion of Petrarch's last line; while his concluding line is based on the vocative "signor," in the ninth line of the Italian. On the whole, this is a very skilful translation, showing real ability in its handling and expansion of details.

The third rondeau, "Go, burning sighs", (T.73; A. 24), is adapted from Petrarch's sonnet, "Ite, caldi sospiri". Wyatt's first five lines are a close translation of Petrarch's first quatrain; ~~which runs as follows:-~~

"Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core;
Rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende;
E, se prego mortale al Ciel s'intende,
Morte o mercede sia fine al mio dolore."

Taking up the thought in these lines, Wyatt develops it in his own way, very different from that of the Italian. Petrarch seeks merely a resolution of his doubts, - even though his lady prove cruel, his fate will at least be definitely decided. Wyatt clings to the figure of the consuming flame of love, and introduces again the idea of faithlessness and lack of truth on the part of his lady.

"O goodly hand" (A.62), is an excellent example of Wyatt's freedom in handling his Italian originals. The first

three stanzas of this poem reproduce the thought of the two quatrains of Petrarch's sonnet, "O bella man." The Italian reads as follows:-

1. "O bella man che mi distringi 'l core
2. E 'n poco spazio la mia vita chiadi;
3. Man ov' ogni arte e tutti loro studi
4. Poser natura e 'l Ciel per farsi onore;
5. Di cinque perle oriental colore,
6. E sol nelle mie piaghe acerbi e crudi,
7. Diti schietti, soavi; a tempo ignudi
8. Consente or voi, per arricchirmi, Amore.

Wyatt's first stanza reproduces exactly the first and second lines of the Italian. Though Petrarch's general thought lies at the basis of the second stanza, only the last two lines are identified with a specific passage in the Italian. These two lines express the thought of Petrarch's sixth line. The figure in the first half of the third stanza, is not found in the Italian. The second half of the stanza is based on the fifth line of the sonnet. Petrarch, however, refers to the fingers themselves as resembling pearls, while Wyatt's figure refers rather to the nails. Here Wyatt's use of the sonnet ceases, though the first word in his fourth stanza is probably a reminiscence of the first word in the eighth line of the Italian.

Petrarch represents the lover as having stolen his lady's glove, thus leaving uncovered her beautiful hand, which he proceeds to describe. The concluding lines of the sonnet allude to the theft. Wyatt drops the theft motive

altogether, and merely describes his lady's mind, concluding with two stanzas which carry still farther the thought expressed in the first stanza.

"Perdie I said it not" (T. 66 ; A. 48), is a very free rendering of Petrarch's canzone, "S'i 'l dissi mai." It is an excellent example of the troubadour "escondigz", or poem of excuse.

Perhaps the best of the love-poems is the ode, "My lute awake" (A. 29). The poet here handles a theme derived from Horace (Bk. I., Ode 25). The verse is very musical, and was doubtless recited or sung to the accompaniment of the lute. Other poems in which the lover addresses his lute occur on pages sixty-seven, seventy-eight, and ninety-six in the Aldine edition. A similar poem, in which the poet's pen is addressed, is found on page ninety-eight of the Aldine edition.

The ode, "My lute awake", is ascribed to Lord Rochester in Park's edition of the "Ruiae Antiquae". However, since it occurs in the Egerton MS. over Wyatt's own signature, Park's ascription must be regarded as erroneous.

"Where shall I have" (T. 51; A. 35), is a vigorous and direct arraignment of his lady, who is reproached for her deceit, faithlessness, and cruelty.

"They flee from me" (T. 40 ; A. 32), is a protest, in

very realistic style, against the change which has taken place in his lady's love for him. The last line, "How like you this, what hath she now deserved?", is another illustration of Wyatt's independent attitude.

"Like as the bird" (T.225; A.54), is written in the manner of a Provencal tenzone. The question is stated in the first stanza; the second and third propose opposite solutions; and the fourth refers the question to the judges, - in this case, all the lovers who read the poem. Other excellent examples of the dialogue form of the tenzone, occur on pages eighty-eight, ninety-five, and one hundred and eighty of the Aldine edition.

"And if an eye" (A.63), describes the lover's suspicion of his lady, and employs once more the familiar thought of the power of the eye in love. It has been pointed out that this is very common in the troubadours and in Petrarch.

These selections suffice to illustrate the character of Wyatt's love-poetry. The artificiality, conventionality, and frequent use of motives and figures derived from Petrarch, and through him from the troubadours, are obvious. (over)

2.

THE SATIRES.

After the sonnets, Wyatt's most important works are his three satires. These are the first polished, classical satires in the history of English literature, and as such they deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. They are not marked by the fierce indignation of Juvenal, but are rather in the style of Horace and of Persius.

The first satire expresses the poet's disdain for the life of those of high estate, and his wish for retirement and seclusion. Seventy of its one hundred and twelve lines are devoted to a very simple and pleasing rendering of Horace's fable (Ek. II., Sat. VI., 79-117) of the town mouse and the country mouse. Wyatt uses only the second part of Horace's fable, describing the visit of the country mouse to her town sister. His rendition is direct and forceful, and must be reckoned among his best poetical works. Nott thinks that Wyatt may have worked from a poem of Robert Henryson - "Of the Uponlondis Mous, and the Barges Mous". However, there are no peculiar points of resemblance between the versions of Wyatt and of Henryson; and the former's very evident close acquaintance with Horace, renders it unnecessary to seek a source outside the Latin poet's work.

The seventy-fifth to the eightieth lines of this satire are based on the third stanza of the sixteenth ode in Horace's second book.—The Latin is as follows:—

"Non enim gazae neque consularis
submovet lictor miseros tumultus
mentis et curas laqueata circum
tectata volantis."

Wyatt expands this as follows:—

"O wretched minds! there is no gold that may
grant that you seek: no war, no peace, no strife:
No, no, although thy head were hoop'd with gold,
Serjeant with mace, with halbert, sword, nor knife,
Cannot repulse the care that follow should."

The masterly way in which the underlying thought of the Latin is reproduced with a remarkably free and able handling of details, shows Wyatt at his best. The substitution of the "serjeant" of the English king, for the lictor of the Latin consul, displays the hand of a translator who has thoroughly assimilated his original, and can reproduce it with clearness and force.

The thought of the ninety-seventh and ninety-eighth lines, while entirely in keeping with the passages from Horace, is taken from Persius, Sat. I., l. 7. Wyatt's satire closes with a free but faithful rendering of Persius, Sat. III., ll. 35-38:—The Latin is as follows:—

"Magne Pater divum, saevos punire tyrannos

Haud alia ratione velim, cum dura libido
 Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno,
 Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta."

The English lacks the concise expression of the Latin, but has no superfluous words, and is an excellent and skilful translation.

In the second satire, Wyatt turns again to Italian sources, and translates, or rather renders, the tenth satire of Luigi Alamanni,- an expression of the writer's contempt for the courtier's life, and his enjoyment of a peaceful existence far from the press of the court. Wyatt has taken Alamanni's satire, and made it over so that it is thoroughly English, and applies exactly to the details of his own life. He sometimes drops lines from his original, and inserts thoughts of his own, but the latter are always in keeping with the general trend of the thought in the Italian.

The fiftieth and fifty-first lines are an excellent example of Wyatt's method. The original is as follows:-

"Dir non saprei Poeta alto et gentile
 Mevio, giurando poi che tal non vide
 Smirna, Manto, et Fiorenza ornato stile."

Here the English reads,

(I will not) "Praise Sir Topas for a noble tale,
 And scorn the story that the Knight told"

Wyatt's lines convey exactly the sentiment of Alamanni, but in a way which impresses the English reader much more forc-

ibly than a slavish adherence to the original would have done. Lines eighty to eighty-eight sound a personal note, which is also found in Alamanni, though the English passage is longer and more specific than the Italian. Lines eighty-nine to one hundred and one, though corresponding exactly with the details of Wyatt's life, are a very faithful rendering of the Italian original, except that Wyatt substitutes "Kent and Christendom" for Alamanni's "Provenza". The Italian satire is written in the Terza Rima, and hence the fact that Wyatt uses this form in all his satires may be ascribed to Alamanni's influence.

In the third satire,- which is a very free rendering of the fifth satire of Horace's second book,- Wyatt counsels one who would succeed in the world, and describes the methods by which he may win favor and fortune. His advice as to the means of securing advancement, implies that through dissimulation, hypocrisy, and deceit, the unworthy secure the choicest rewards, while honest merit is neglected and left unrewarded.

Wyatt's satires show little originality of thought; but neither are they slavish or mechanical reproductions of the thought of his originals. Here, as in most of his translations and adaptations, he has thoroughly assimilated the ideas of the poet whom he is translating, and expresses

them in clear, idiomatic, forceful English. His method is to choose some specific satire, many passages of which he reproduces with the ~~greatest~~ exactness. However, he does not hesitate to introduce thoughts of a similar tenor from other works of the same poet, from the works of other poets, or from his own experience. Since he has thoroughly assimilated the ideas of his models, and seeks only to reproduce the main thought, without a too close adherence in the case of particular passages, the result is a clear and vigorous rendering of the original, which has absorbed somewhat of the individuality of the translator. The dignity, vigor, and apparent freedom from effort and straining after effect, which marks the satires, distinguish them as examples of Wyatt's best and loftiest style.

3.

Miscellaneous Pieces.

This group includes several noteworthy translations and adaptations. The sonnet, "The pillar perish'd is" (T. 72; A. 18), is an adaptation of Petrarch's "Rotta è l'alta Colonna". Petrarch's sonnet is a lament for the death of his friend, Cardinal Colonna, "the lofty column", and of Laura, "the green laurel". Wyatt's adaptation is so arranged that it refers to but a single person. To secure this result, the poet uses only that part of the first line

which refers to Colonna. In the Italian, there is a play upon the name "Colonna", which also means "a column". The English uses the word in its literal meaning. The figure in Petrarch's second line - "Che facean ombra al mio stanco pensiero" - is more in keeping with the idea of the laurel than of the column, and Wyatt introduces a figure of his own instead, which would apply only to the column. In lines three and four, and in the first part of line five, the English has a figure derived from lines four and five of the Italian; but whereas in Petrarch the figure applies to the persons whom the poet is lamenting, Wyatt applies it to his own misfortune.

In the fifth and sixth lines, Wyatt reproduces only the general thought of the corresponding lines in Petrarch, i.e., that Death has taken away his joy. The figure in the English is not derived from the Italian, though it was no doubt suggested by the reference to the laurel in the Italian. At this point Wyatt adopts a line of thought somewhat different from the Italian. Petrarch says that the riches and power of this world cannot atone for his loss; Wyatt, that death alone can bring relief. The ninth and tenth lines of the English are evidently an echo of the corresponding lines in the Italian. In the eleventh line, Wyatt represents his pen and his voice as expressing his grief;

Petrarch's grief appears in his tears and in his sorrowful countenance. The last three lines of the Italian contain general reflections upon the transitory nature of earthly joy. Wyatt continues his expression of grief, and finally returns to the thought of his eighth line.

Nott (l.c., p.544) was the first to suggest that this poem is probably a lament for Cromwell. Since Wyatt adopts that figure in Petrarch which refers to Colonna, and omits the one which refers to Laura, Nott's view is doubtless correct.

"Stand, whose list", (T.83 ; A.176), is translated from Seneca's "Thyestes", ll.391-403. The English is a very exact and concise reproduction of the Latin, and shows great skill in translation. "That nath the wanton toys" (l.4), and "Dased with dreadful face" (l.10), are the only phrases in the English which are not represented in the original.

In the case of this poem, there is considerable variation between the readings in the Egerton MS. and in the Miscellany. The Egerton version, as usual, is closer to the original. The word "wheel", in the first line of Tottel, appears as "top" in Egerton. Since the Latin original has "culmine", the Egerton reading is evidently to be preferred. The difference of the rime-words in the first

line, leads to a considerable variation in line three, where the Egerton has,

"And use me quiet without let or stop."

The thought, however, is the same in each case. "That hath the wanton toys", in the fourth line of the Miscellany, appears as "That hath such brackish joys" in Egerton. Neither thought is represented in the Latin, but the latter is rather the better. In Egerton, the Latin "Illi mors gravis incubat", is rendered "For him death grip 'th right hard by the crop." In this case the Miscellany reading is somewhat smoother and easier.

"If thou wilt mighty be" (T.224; A.55), is adapted from three metra in the third book of the "De Consolatione Philosophiae" of Boethius. The first stanza of the English is a very exact rendering of the fifth metrum in the Latin. The second stanza reproduces, with less exactness of detail, the main thought of the sixth metrum. The third stanza is a close copy of the Latin in the third metrum. The freedom with which these three metra are handled, and combined in a harmonious whole, expressing very exactly the main thought of Boethius, is characteristic of Wyatt's method as a translator.

The Song of Iopas, an unfinished poem (T.93; A.159), develops at length the suggestion contained in the first

book of the Aeneid, ll. 740-746, in which the bard Iotas is represented as singing before Dido and her guests.

In "Of Carthage he" (T.83; A.173), Wyatt takes the thought of the first two lines of Petrarch's sonnet, "Vinse Annibal, e non seppe", and applies it to his own case.

"Tagus, farewell", (T.84; A.173), is an original piece, whose expression of patriotism has met with commendation from all Wyatt's editors.

4.

The Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms.

Since the Paraphrase is to be treated at length in another paper, I shall not discuss it here. The idea of the general setting in which the Psalms are inserted, is derived from a Latin introduction to the Penitential Psalms, which appears among the "Juvenilia" of Theodore de Beza.

IV.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE POEMS.

A.

The Dissertation of Simonds.

The fact that certain of the poems obviously belong to a later period than most of the others, led Alscher (l.c., p.20) to divide Wyatt's productions into two groups, the point of division falling at the beginning of the year 1541, when the poet was imprisoned upon Bonner's charges. Roughly speaking, the first period includes all the love-poems and lighter pieces,- rondeaux, epigrams, riddles, etc. The productions of the second period are characterized by "a deeper insight, a more earnest view of life, the expression of religious feeling, an inclination to philosophize. This is the period of the paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, the satires, and the gnomic and philosophic poems.

In Simonds's dissertation, the principle of division is carried much further, and upon the seven periods into which he divides Wyatt's productions, he bases a very fanciful account of the poet's love-affairs. The divisions are as follows:-

Earliest Poems	-----previous to 1522
Group I.	Love-poems (Protestation and Entreaty) 1522-1527.
Group II.	Love-poems (Prosperity and Attainment)
Group III.	Love-poems (Disappointment and Deception) 1527-1532
Group IV.	Love-poems (Disillusion and Recovery)--- 1532-1536
Group V.	Occasional poems ----- 1536-1539
Group VI.	Late poems -----1539-1542

Having arranged the poems in these groups, Simonds concludes that, from the nature of the sentiments expressed, the pieces in groups I.- IV., must record the experiences of a single love-affair of the poet. According to this scheme, Wyatt begins his suit with protestations and entreaties to the lady; is accepted, and enjoys her favor; is later deceived and neglected; finally recovers from his passion, and denounces the faithless lady. Naturally enough, Anne Boleyn, with whom Wyatt's name has been frequently connected, is selected as the heroine of this little romance. There is nothing in the poems themselves to warrant the very exact dates which Simonds ascribes to the different groups. These dates are obviously arranged so that this supposititious love-affair may be made compatible with certain known events in the lives of Wyatt and of Anne Boleyn.

There is really no justification for such an exact

interpretation of Wyatt's productions. The situations which these poems represent are so conventional, so much a part of the regular apparatus of love-poetry, that Simonds's personal application is doubtful from the very first.

Group I., for instance, he calls poems of protestation and entreaty. The name indicates the character of the themes; and their conventionality is at once evident.

Group II. he characterizes as follows:-

"In the compositions of this period the lover expresses himself as happy in the love of his lady, but forever harassed by necessity of concealment; the affection is mutual, but disclosure of the relationship would be fatal to the happiness of both." Though these poems are more individual in tone than those of the first group, their sentiments are a part of the regular convention of love-poetry, especially in those literatures which exerted an influence on Wyatt. Such situations are common to the troubadours, the Italians before Petrarch, and those following him, and appear in other literatures in places in which their conventionality has never been questioned.

Group III. embraces poems expressing a variety of sentiments. In some, "the lover seems attempting to clear himself of certain accusations brought against him by his mistress. He protests his loyalty to her, and denies the

truth of the charges". This situation is so conventional among the troubadours that they have a special name for poems of the type.

In other poems of the group, the sentiment is this: "The lover has served long and faithfully without reward; but his affection does not falter, he is content to serve even as his lady lists". This is the characteristic tone of the troubadours and of Petrarch. The third group closes with five poems which represent the lover as separated from his lady. Such poems of absence, however, are too conventional to serve as a basis for argument.

In the poems of the fourth group, the lover "suddenly casts off his bonds, and has recourse to taunts and upbraiding." It has been already remarked that this tone is especially characteristic of the later followers of Petrarch.

Besides the conventionality of thought and situation in the poems, there is another fact which argues against any such personal interpretation,- each of these groups contains translations, which may be regarded as supplying the themes for the original poems. Simonds, (l.c., p.80) explains the translations as follows: "The original poems have all the appearance of being the expression of real feelings and experiences; the thoughts uttered in these pieces are taken up and repeated in the translated poems:

we therefore judge that the pieces chosen for translation were selected with regard to their contents." Such an explanation as this can hardly be accepted. It is highly improbable that a poet would first express his thoughts in original compositions, and then begin the translation of poems conveying similar sentiments. It is likely that the procedure which he would adopt, would be exactly the reverse of the one suggested. He would translate such poems as particularly impressed him, and then attempt original compositions in a similar strain.

Moreover, in the course of his interpretation, Simonds casts aside a number of love-poems which do not fit into his scheme. These he places either among the earliest poems or in Group V. Of those in the latter group he says: "The poet, to be sure, sings of love and passion yet; but there is a generalness and an indefiniteness in every piece." It may be urged that the same is true of many poems in the other groups.

But most important of all is the fact that Simonds brushes aside altogether eight poems whose versification indicates that they are very early works. As he says (l.c., p.68): "It is probable that Wyatt had written poems earlier than those which compose this group, but these bear all the marks of apprenticeship, and are to be designated as his

earliest work that has come down to us." In these poems, however, which are evidently early, and would not fit at all into his chronology of the love-poems, are found many of the characteristic sentiments of periods which the interpretation of Simonds necessarily places much later. For example, "Ever mine hap is slack" (T.68; A.13), depicts the doubt and deception which Simonds establishes as the characteristic ideas of his third group. The sentiment of "Love, Fortune, and my mind" (T.69; A.13), corresponds to those of Group IV. in Simonds. "Like to these unmeasurable mountains" (T.70; A.15), could not be placed any earlier than the expressions of doubt and deception in Group III. "Absence absenting" (A.142), expresses at length the lover's sorrow at being separated from his love - the theme which characterizes the last poems in the third group.

The evidence of these last four poems alone is sufficient to overthrow Simonds's arrangement of the love-poems as a whole; for here we have the earliest extant productions of Wyatt, expressing sentiments which, - if the interpretation of Simonds be correct, - are especially characteristic of very much later periods of the poet's life.

Though there is no doubt of the falsity of an interpretation which makes Anne Boleyn the subject of the majority, or even of any large number, of Wyatt's love-poems, it

must be admitted that a few of these poems contain possible allusions to Anne. In "If waker care (T.36;A.6), Wyatt speaks of a former sweetheart as "Brunet, that set my wealth in such a roar". In the Egerton MS., this passage reads: "Her that did set our country in a roar." That the reference here is to Anne Boleyn, herself a brunette, is more than possible; it is highly probable. In "Whoso list to hunt (A.19), the poet writes of his lady under the figure of a hind, which he has ceased to hunt, because there is about her neck a collar with the inscription, "Noli me tangere; for Caesar's I am." Though this sonnet is a translation, and though the line in question stands just as it does in the original, it is still possible that there is here an allusion to Anne Boleyn and her relations to Henry VIII. The riddle, "What word is that" (T.223; A. 183) is a third highly probable allusion to Anne Boleyn. A fourth poem, "Sometime I fled" (T.54; A. 171), has usually been regarded as referring to the journey of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn to Calais in 1532. But Wyatt's name does not occur in the list of those who accompanied them, and hence the probability of the allusion is lessened.

Even if it is admitted that these four poems are addressed to Anne, the general situation is not changed. Since it is known that Wyatt and Anne Boleyn were friends,

there is really nothing surprising in the fact that the poet addressed some of his productions to the charming and witty maid-of-honor. But it is entirely unnecessary to regard the sentiments, even in these poems, as anything more than the conventional love-phrases of a polished courtier. Such an all-embracing interpretation as that of Simonds, which makes biographical documents of a collection of conventional love-poems, - many of which are translations, and all highly artificial, - is entirely impossible.

B.

The Dissertation of Wintermantel.

That part of Wintermantel's dissertation which deals with the life and works of Wyatt, is devoted mainly to a refutation of Simonds's arguments and ideas. He shows that the latter is not at all consistent in the application of his standards, and that in the case of poems in which the conclusions derived from metrical considerations are opposed to those derived from a study of the content, he adopts the conclusion which best supports his thesis. Wintermantel's main argument against Simonds is based on the supposition that the poems occur in the Egerton MS. in exactly the order in which they were composed. There is, however,

no positive evidence in support of this contention, and it can hardly be admitted as a basis for argument.

These general considerations are followed by a discussion of the separate poems. Wintermantel consistently opposes the interpretation which Simonds places upon the various pieces, but he advances no positive proof in support of his own position, being satisfied with a categorical denial in each instance. He concludes with the statement that the poems furnish not one bit of positive evidence of Wyatt's attachment to Anne Boleyn. While it is true that there is no absolute evidence in the strict sense of the word, the cumulative evidence of the passages in Wyatt's poems which may refer to Anne Boleyn is not to be so lightly swept aside. On the whole, the dissertation is unsatisfactory, and ~~makes out~~ no very strong case against Simonds.

The considerations advanced in the preceding pages serve to establish the following conclusions:-

1. That the group of English "courtly makers" at the court of Henry VIII,- including Henry himself, as well as many of his leading favorites and statesmen,- has an illuminating prototype in the different groups of troubadour poets.

2. That Sir Thomas Wyatt was upon very intimate terms with Anne Boleyn, and that this intimacy supplies the inspiration for some of his poems, but that the attempt to interpret the great bulk of his poetry as a kind of versified chronicle of a love-affair with Anne Boleyn is both unnecessary and *impracticable*.

3. That the influence operating upon much the larger part of Wyatt's poetry is to be sought not in the productions of the French imitators of Petrarch, but in the Canzoniere itself and in the works of the Italian followers of the master.

4. That both the content and the style of Wyatt's translations and imitations of Petrarch and the Petrarchists show that the English poet

caught and reproduced only the obvious and often superficial characteristics of Petrarch's thought and style.

5. That Wyatt's best verse is facile and graceful in form, and indicates the poet's perfect command of his medium.

6. That the thought and the expression of Wyatt's later and better poetry display the "high seriousness" of an "absolute sincerity" which makes his best work truly good poetry, not only relatively but absolutely.

Life.

I was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 7, 1879; was graduated from the Baltimore City College in 1899, and from the Johns Hopkins University, with the degree of A.B., in 1902. During the second and third years of my undergraduate course, I held a Hopkins Scholarship. Taking up graduate work in October, 1902, I elected English as my major subject, French and Philosophy as minors. From 1902 to 1905, I was Student Assistant in English at the Johns Hopkins University; in 1902-03 and 1905-06, held a University Scholarship; and from 1906 to 1908, was Fellow in English. In 1908-09, I was Instructor in English at the University of Missouri, and since October, 1909, I have been Instructor in English at the Johns Hopkins University.

From 1902 to 1908, I was a member of the English Seminary, conducted by Professor Bright; from 1902 to 1904, of the German Seminary, conducted by Professor Wood; and during 1906-07, of the Philosophical Seminary, conducted by Professor Baldwin. In addition to my work in these seminaries, I have attended various courses conducted by Professors Bright, Browne, Armstrong, Griffin, Wood, and Collitz, and Associate Professors Prush, Corden, and Vos, to all of whom my thanks are due. For kindly advice and encouragement I am especially indebted to Professors Griffin and Greene, and to Professor Bright, whose high ideals of scholarship have been a constant inspiration.





